claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴰⴼⴰⵔ, plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⵎⴷⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ.

## Chapter XVII

### Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *amerw* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [266]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492
284
564

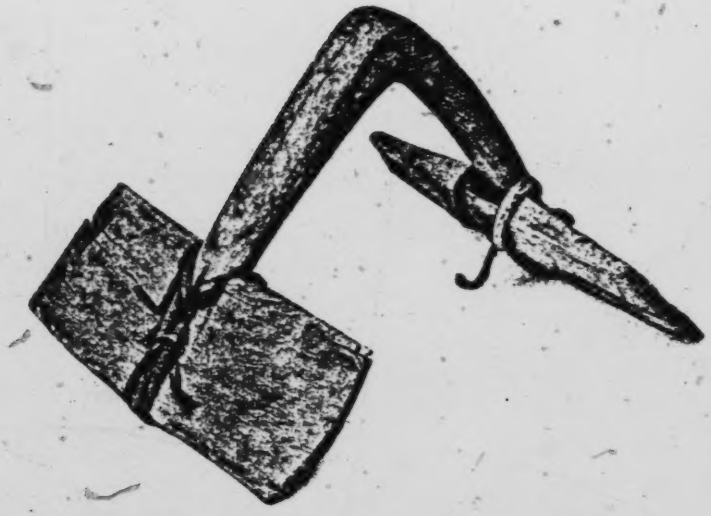


Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 [171] by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411

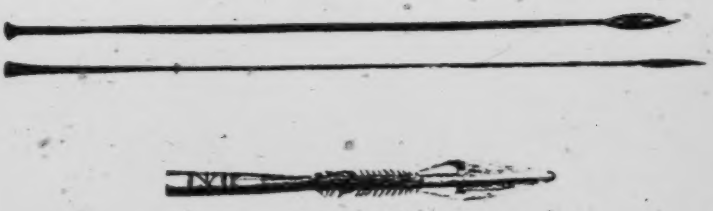


Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.
a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.88 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allar* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda*; Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224
564
291
516

Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262
535
[767] by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game, with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

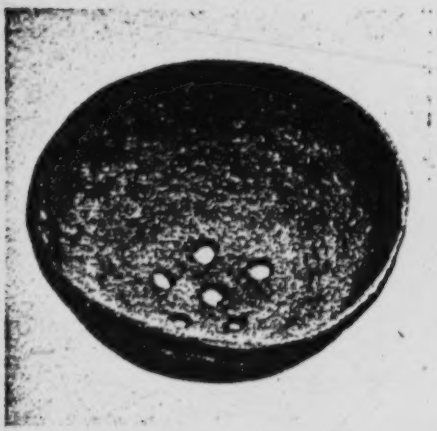
These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224
564
565
262
[432]
[484] In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoda*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *ayata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

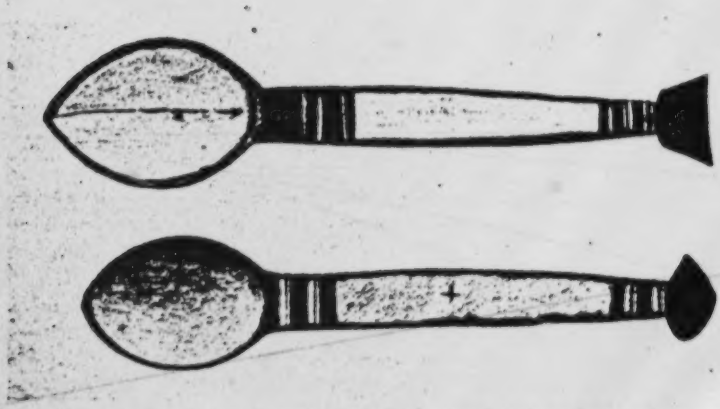




252
416 *
251
252
432

**Fig. 189.** Earthen jar (*dewfu*, or *dewbe*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harrutin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

**Fig. 190.** A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 3847a).



412
824
531
564

**Fig. 191.** Wooden spoons (*tenakait*, pl. *tinakaiin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* and the *Dag Rali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Iseḳḳamaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*akegeyer*) plaited from date palm leaves (*eghan*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[Text continues on p. 269]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals. They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaraman* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Inesleмen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

(1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfadet* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals